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AUTHOR Katz, Lilian G.
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ABSTRACT

Teacher education can be thought of as sets of activities intended to socialize candidates into the segments of the occupation of teaching. It is suggested that these activities have at least eight interrelated parameters, and that variables in each of these parameters impinge upon the processes of socialization. The variables discussed are: (1) goals, the intended outcomes of specific activities, and assessment of these achievements; (2) characteristics of candidates; (3) characteristics of staff; (4) content, those facts, information, ideas, skills, etc., transmitted to candidates; (5) time, the duration of the program, timing, and sequence of activities; (6) ethos, the social and intellectual climate of the socialization setting reflected in the interpersonal relationships among candidates and staff members; (7) location and setting of the teacher education project; and (8) regulations including state certifications boards, federal agencies, school districts, legislatures, etc. Selected issues and questions in each parameter are discussed with special reference to early childhood personnel and the special problems of teachers in preschool settings. (JMF)

THE SOCIALIZATION OF TEACHERS FOR EARLY CHILDHOOD PROGRAMS

Lilian G. Katz, Ph.D.

Professor of Early Childhood Education
Director, ERIC Clearinghouse on Early Childhood Education

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The Socialization of Teachers for Early Childhood Programs

Lilian G. Katz

"She should have a fair education... By this I mean she should have a doctor's degree in psychology and medicine. Sociology as a background is advisable. She should be an experienced carpenter, mason, mechanic, plumber and a thoroughly trained musician and poet. At least five years' practical experience in each of these branches is essential... Now at 83, she is ready!"[1]

A more current version of the ideal qualifications of teachers for early childhood programs might include anthropology, linguistics, ethnic studies and ecology; in addition, it would very likely be modified to indicate contemporary wishes to encourage males to become teachers of young children.

The fact is, however, that most states have few formal professional education requirements for the teachers of our youngest children. The issues surrounding such requirements are many and complex, reflecting a variety of conceptual and practical problems, as well as ideological, economic and political issues.

The specific purpose of this chapter is to take up selected issues in the conceptualization, design and implementation of teacher education for early childhood personnel, with particular emphasis on the special problems of teachers for preschool settings.

Teacher Education as Socialization

A central thesis of this chapter is that it is useful to think of teacher education as a process of socialization. The general term socialization has been defined as "the process by which persons acquire the knowledge, skills, and dispositions that make them more or less able members of their society."[2] Teacher education can be seen as a specific case of the more general case of occupational or professional socialization, which includes the dimensions indicated in this definition, but specifies the group into which the individual is being socialized. As Moore defines it, professional socialization "involves acquiring the requisite knowledge and also the sense of occupational norms typical of the fully qualified practitioner."[3] The thesis is advanced in the hope that the concept of occupational socialization will serve to enlarge the range and type, as well as relative emphases, of the parameters taken into account in thinking about teacher education. I am suggesting that when we think of teacher education simply as a type of training program, we may over-emphasize skill acquisition at the expense of occupational norms. On the other hand, when we think of teacher education as an educational program we may over-emphasize the acquisition of knowledge and under-emphasize both skill acquisition and the internalization of occupational norms. Such relative emphases are not inherent in concepts of training or of education. But the concept of socialization appears to alert us to other useful goals and processes. Using the concept of occupational socialization, teacher education can now be defined as sets of activities (and actions) which are intended to help candidates to acquire the requisite knowledge, skills, habits, values, dispositions, norms, etc. which enable them to enter the occupation of teaching.

The potential sets of activities which constitute teacher education are numerous and varied. They may include for example courses, field trips, lectures, practica, modules, microteaching, observations of children, independent reading and so on. There are many ways in which these sets of activities may vary. In this chapter, a set of parameters or classes of variables of teacher education is proposed. Each parameter is defined briefly, and selected issues within each are discussed, with special emphasis on issues related to teacher education for early childhood programs.

Parameters of Teacher Education

In this discussion, the term parameter is used to describe a broad category or class of variables which can be thought to impinge upon the sets of activities and actions and processes which constitute a teacher education program. Although the parameters are enumerated below as a list of discrete classes of variables, experience suggests that they represent complex interacting and confounding factors, separated only in order to facilitate discussion and enquiry. Neither the order of importance, nor their relative impacts on the activities or outcomes of teacher education is known at this time. Eight parameters are defined briefly as follows:

1. Goals. The general and specific outcomes the activities and acts which constitute the teacher education program are intended to achieve. Methods of assessing these achievements are also included in this parameter.

2. Characteristics of candidates. Candidates (i.e.,trainees, students, recruits) may vary in age, sex, socio-economic background, motivation, intelligence, creativity, etc.

3. Characteristics of staff. Staff members may vary in age, experience, ideology, skill, knowledge, etc. Some staff members are senior professors, some are graduate assistants; some are cooperating teachers in public schools, some are directors of day care centers, etc.

4. Content. This parameter includes the facts, information, theories, knowledge, ideas, skills, techniques, etc. transmitted to candidates via the activities and actions constituting the teacher education program.

5. Time. This parameter includes the duration of the program (i.e., 1, 2, or 4 years), timing and sequencing or temporal order and simultaneity of the activities presented to the candidates.

6. Ethos. This parameter includes ways in which the social and intellectual climate or atmosphere of the socialization setting may vary; the ethos of the setting is reflected in the affective tone and intellectual content of the interpersonal relationships among and between candidates and staff members.

7. Location and setting. The location of a teacher education program may be a conventional college campus site, an urban commuter campus, a teachers' center, a community college, a school district site, a demonstration project, a campus laboratory school, etc.

8. Regulations. This parameter includes state certification boards, federal funding agencies, school districts, legislatures at state and the federal level, governmental bureaus, intra-institutional regulations and requirements, etc. Political action and pressure groups are included in this parameter.

I. Goals of Teacher Education for Early Childhood Education

If this chapter had been prepared prior to the nineteen sixties, the term "nursery school" might very well have been in the title. Since the era of large scale intervention programs like Head Start the term "nursery school" has gradually dropped out of use, and has been replaced by the terms "preschool" and "early childhood education."

Examination of recent trends suggests that the term "preschool" captures more fully than the term "nursery school" the variety of age groups and types of settings served by such programs. The rubric early childhood education usually encompasses all programs and classes for children up to and including the age of eight.

Parallel to the changes in program terminology, some reluctance to use the term "teacher" can also be observed, especially in discussion of day care center staffing. Terms like child care worker, caregiver, are increasingly in common usage. The federally initiated training program developed by the Office of Child Development (HEW) adopted the term child development associate for adults working in Head Start and other preschool settings.

The causes of such reluctance to use the term teacher are not entirely clear. We can speculate that some believe that the term teacher implies conventional state teaching credentials--an implication which would not be incongruent with the so-called paraprofessional or assistant status of many adults working in early childhood programs. The reluctance may also reflect negative sentiments toward teachers in conventional public schools among many workers in programs like Head Start and other community-based early childhood centers. However, it may be that to a

large extent, the reluctance to use the term teacher stems from some of the complexities in conceptualizing the adult's role and functions in programs for very young children. Some of these complexities can be seen in a statement made by Edward Zigler when he introduced the Child Development Associate (CDA) project sponsored by the Office of Child Development when he was its director:

"...the central element determining whether a child care program is developmental or not will be the quality of the child's educator... that is the quality of the adult who takes primary responsibility for the development and socialization of the child. If we do not have an adequate number of such individuals equipped to take on this developmental role, then I think we will be assigning our children in ever larger numbers, to the type of care that is deleterious to their growth and development."[4]

In the passage cited above, the adult role is referred to as the child's educator. But his/her[5] responsibilities include: development, socialization, growth and care. These multiple and overlapping responsibilities may have been generally "understood" or taken for granted under the old term nursery school teacher, as implied by the quotation from Jessie Stanton at the opening of this chapter. The expansion and development of the field of the last dozen or more years seems to have undermined that traditional consensus and understanding. Presumably the newer terms (e.g., day care worker, caregiver, CDA) serve to remind us of the wide range of functions which adults in preschool settings are expected to fulfill. Nevertheless, for the purposes of this chapter, the term teacher is preferred.

The wide range of functions of preschool teachers yields more than terminological problems. One such problem which affects the development of teacher education programs related to goals is the lack of agreement concerning what constitutes "good" or even "adequate" teaching. The extensive effort in curriculum model development during the past decade (e.g., Planned Variation in Head Start), with each model emphasizing its preferred procedures and objectives, seemed to provoke bitter divergences among workers in the field over the functions of teachers or young children.[6] It is unlikely, for example, that Piagetians and Behavior Analysts would characterize 'effective' or even 'adequate' teaching in the same way. Indeed, among Piagetians themselves, several pedagogical controversies remain unresolved as yet.

The Child Development Associate (CDA) project initiated by the Office of Child Development (HEW) is a teacher training program which has defined six basic competency areas and nine "personal capacities" as the goals of the program.[7] The six competency areas and the personal capacities proposed as goals for CDA training are stated at a fairly high level of inference. Methods for transforming the goals into the sets of activities which constitute a training program are not yet clear. However, the main thrust of the CDA project is to provide a credential to trainees "which is earned by demonstrating competence to work with preschool children in the performance or competency-based programs."[8] Like other teacher education programs in the performance or competency-based mode, the CDA "credential is based on actual performance with children."[9] Even though certain "personal capacities" are labeled "essential," the performance orientation implies strong emphasis on the

acquisition of a repertoire of demonstrable skills and techniques.

In order to formulate the goals of a socialization process, it is useful to identify specific segments of the occupation itself. Four interrelated segments which encompass the functions, attributes and behaviors (i.e. program goals) into which students are to be socialized are outlined briefly below:

1. Role definition. Functions, duties, responsibilities and obligations assigned to and expected of occupants of teaching positions. To some extent the role definition for a day care center teacher is different from that of the nursery or kindergarten teacher who works only half days or perhaps three mornings a week. The day care teacher's role is likely to encompass a wider range of functions and duties than is the role of the nursery school teacher. The functions of teachers in early childhood programs are likely to vary with the age of pupils such that the younger the child, the wider the range of the child's functions the adult assumes responsibility for.

2. Teaching style. Style refers to the individual and distinctive variations in ways of enacting the role of the teacher. Two teachers may accept the same role definitions, but may differ in the styles in which they render them. These variations are sometimes labeled personality traits or attitudes. Examples of style variables are warmth, friendliness, patience, enthusiasm, seriousness, etc. When we make the statement that a program "depends on the personality of the teacher," we are very likely referring to style variations in teachers. Teachers in the Becker-Englemann model for example all share a common role definition, i.e.,expectations are held for all incumbents of teaching positions

using that particular curriculum mode; however, individual teachers can be observed to perform those same functions with more or less warmth and humor as well as variations in tempo.

3. Skills and techniques. Skills and techniques have been defined by Beller as the strategies by which teachers expect to accomplish their objectives.[10] The skills and techniques or competencies refer to the behaviors we observe "on the job" working with children and parents, e.g. story-reading, engaging children in movement or dance, behavior modification, engaging children in conversations, teaching phonics, etc. The underlying knowledge bases are implied in this segment.

4. Professional or occupational identification. A cluster of variables such as occupational norms, attitudes towards clients and colleagues, teachers' ethics, ideological commitment, professional self-image, etc.

When the sets of activities provided for candidates focus heavily on the acquisition of skills and techniques, they can be described as a training program; when they focus on the underlying knowledge base or on information about the latter, then the program can be described as teacher education. If teacher education is to be implemented as a process of socialization into an occupation (ideally a profession) then the sets of activities must include goals and assessments in all four segments outlined above. The optimum proportion of time or effort to be assigned to goals and assessment in each segment is not clear. If a candidate has a clear role definition but lacks an adequate repertoire of skills, she is not likely to be very effective in the day care center. Similarly, if a candidate has a desired ideological commitment, but an insufficient

repertoire of skills and techniques, she is likely to flounder in practice. The regular assessment of candidates' progress with respect to goals in each segment may serve to ascertain the optimum proportions of time and effort assigned to the respective segment goals.

A. Some Issues in Assessment

The discussion and controversy surrounding competency-based teacher education seems to have stimulated new sensitivity to the goals of teacher education among early childhood specialists. One of the problems of interest is the extent to which competency-based teacher education leads to a reductionist conception of the nature of teaching." The pressure to specify "demonstrable skills" may-- though not necessarily-- result in the formulation of long lists of discrete skills, each of which can be observed and assessed separately. This approach to the goals of the program and to the assessment of candidates implies that teaching is an aggregate of separable skills. Indeed much of the research on teacher behavior betrays the same implication.

One thesis of this chapter is that while the teaching of young children includes sets of demonstrable skills, it is useful to think of teaching in terms of larger patterns of behaviors including the capacity for judgement as to which skills to use when competency-based programs seem to differ from conventional teacher education primarily in terms of both explicitness and specificity of goals and objectives. It is proposed here that the effectiveness of a teacher resides not in her behavior per se, but the meaning the learner assigns to that behavior. Discrete episodes of teaching derive their meaning from the pattern of which they

are perceived to be a part. Episodes of teacher behavior can be compared to words in sentences; it is from the sentence in which a word is embedded that the word derives its meaning. Indeed, the meaning of a sentence is derived from the paragraph in which it, in turn, is embedded. If we assess teachers or candidates on the basis of check lists of discrete demonstrable skills we may overlook the really influential aspect of teaching, i.e.,the meanings individual learners assign to those behaviors. It may be that individual children assign meanings to teachers' behavior which observers may either define differently or be unaware of. If there are wide differences between the meanings assigned to teacher behavior episodes by observers and by the pupils, the observations are unlikely to be useful for prediction or generalization. One-time judgements can be made about the presence or absence of teacher behavior. But rapid judgements cannot be made about the meaning of teachers' behavior. While the intentions of the competency-based programs seem to be to equip candidates with a "beginner's" repertoire of skills, the consequences of their programs seem to be to reduce or eliminate larger concerns of occupational socialization. It would be interesting to know how the less desirable consequences flow from worthwhile intentions.

The potential risks of competency-based assessment in teacher education must be weighted against the risks of alternative approaches. Common practice is to rely on course grades: if a candidate passes all courses, including practica, certification usually follows. In some countries a combination of courses and state board-type written exams is used.[12] In others, heavy reliance is placed on oral examinations, often conducted by external examiners. Some institutions place much weight on the ratings

of those who supervise field work. As already indicated above, considerable enthusiam has developed for performance criteria.

It is likely that every approach to assessment makes errors. Assessments which rely on course grades tend to reward candidates who are good at being students--in the conventional sense. The amount and type of error in this approach is probably related to the extent to which being good at the student role is compatible with being good at teaching. State board-type of exams such as those given by the National Nursery Examination Board in Great Britain may make the similar error of inducting those who are verbally skillful even when they may be weak in interpersonal skills. Assessments made by field supervisory personnel often present errors issuing from personality conflicts between candidates and supervisors. No data have been found concerning the potential errors of oral examinations. Possibly one error of this approach may be to in-breed the occupation with candidates who are seen by the examiners as being worthy of becoming "one of us."

Combinations of assessment procedures, e.g.,performance criteria plus course grades, plus personal interviews plus supervisor's ratings, may help to counterbalance the types of errors of each approach, or may compound the errors. But economic considerations alone may gainsay such combinations.

The problem of assessing the outcomes of teacher education seems to be a question of which errors we prefer to make. In as much as the meaning of a teacher's behavior seems to be the crux of effectiveness, the errors inherent in narrowly defined performance criteria seem to be the least acceptable ones. Inter-subjective judgements of fairly large samples

of candidates' teaching made by several staff members may minimize undesirable errors. An error-free assessment strategy is not likely to be found.

II. Characteristics of Candidates

Neither definitive nor descriptive reports concerning characteristics of candidates for teaching in early childhood programs have been found. Some data have been reported concerning background characteristics of teachers in conventional public schools in the U.S.[13] and in Britain.[14] Since there is no agency responsible for gathering data on day care and preschool personnel an overall picture of early childhood personnel is not available.

In 1972 Rosen[15] reported a study of the relationship between student teachers' effectiveness with children of different ages and their reports of their own childhoods. Examining the autobiographical statements submitted during applications for admission to a graduate teacher education program (N=37), the investigator looked for characteristic themes. Relationships were sought between these themes and the age group with which candidates' advisors rated them as effective. Rosen's findings indicate that candidates who seemed to be most comfortable working with children in the 2 to 5 year age group contained as dominant themes "a close and supportive family life... a strong sense of love and personal security and... gratification."[16] Subsidiary themes for this group "underplayed the academic aspects of school experience." Themes of students rated most comfortable and competent with children from 5 to 8 years old included the "push toward mastery," achievement and an under-playing of affective themes. Students more comfortable with 8 to 11 year-olds had themes surrounding the "love

of learning," reported having been affected by teachers who were intellectually exciting and recollections of the intellectual and cultural flavor of their homes. It is not clear whether the findings imply that candidates should be screened for their potential success with preschool children, or whether something ought to be done to increase the capacities of candidates in the other two groups to be comfortable with younger children.

A strong tendency can be observed to recruit candidates for teaching the young from among our ethnic minority groups. The success of this effort has not yet been reliably documented. Similarly there is considerable interest in attracting male candidates into the ranks of teachers in preschool programs. In general it is difficult to obtain an overall picture of the candidates in early childhood teacher education.

What characteristics of candidates are worth knowing about? Rosen's research, mentioned above, underscores a common theme in the early childhood education literature, namely that personal characteristics of the candidate are crucial to performance. Assumptions that socioeconomic background, ethnic origin, attitudes, and beliefs are important candidate characteristics are common.

III. Characteristics of Staff

Studies of characteristics of staff members of early childhood teacher education programs have not been found. In as much as the staffs include graduate student assistants, laboratory school teachers, on-site day care and preschool personnel, community college instructors as well as conventional faculties in teacher education, child development and home economics working in a variety of settings, a variety of characteristics could be expected.

The number of potential questions concerning characteristics of staff is very large. In the absence of an established or accepted paradigm delineating teacher education, it is difficult to agree on which questions are most urgent. A few questions which emerge from a framework of occupational socialization are suggested below.

Staff members, seen as agents of occupational socialization, can be thought of as helping candidates to acquire what Becker and Carper refer to as an "occupational personality": "occupational identifications are internalized by the individual in the course of his entrance into and passage through a set of training institutions..."[17] It is not clear how well staff members could assist candidates in the acquisition of an "occupational personality"--or indeed whether such an acquisition is desirable.

It would be of interest to know to what extent and in what ways staff members can and/or actually do serve as models for the candidates. Let us suppose, for example, that staff members were asked to enumerate a list of "professional" attributes they wish to foster in candidates. To what extent would candidates perceive the same attributes in the staff? General impressions suggest that candidates at both preservice and inservice levels perceive staff members to be impractical and to be too removed from the realities of day-to-day work in programs with children. On the other hand, do candidates perceive the teacher education staff (at senior colleges particularly) to be as intellectually competent as their instructors of courses outside of education (e.g., psychology, biology, Western civilization)? What might be the effects of the relative standings of teacher educators and non-education instructors on the occupational socialization process?

General impressions suggest that staff members themselves suffer from low morale and generalized cynicism toward the usefulness of their efforts. Teacher educators working in large institutions may perceive themselves to have low prestige and status in the eyes of their colleagues. Early childhood staffs may perceive themselves to have low status compared to colleagues in other sub-fields of education. The extent to which these perceptions exist and are accurate readings of colleagues' attributions is in need of verification.

IV. Content of Teacher Education

As in many other aspects of teacher education in the early childhood field there appears to be little agreement on what knowledge, skills, ideas, facts, etc.,candidates should have. According to some specialists teachers need only to know how to generate lesson plans from statements of behavioral objectives; others say they need primarily that special kind of knowledge which comes from having the same ethnic and socioeconomic background as the children to be served. Others claim that what the teacher needs most is knowledge and acceptance of herself.

Most programs seem to assume at least that candidates should have some knowledge of child development. Even the competency-based programs tend to include "demonstrations" of knowledge of child development. Just how much knowledge constitutes 'enough' is not clear, nor are there data available by which to assess the validity of the assumption. Beyond these basic questions, it is not clear which approaches to child development (e.g. Piagetian, Eriksonian, behavioristic) are considered essential. How the knowledge of child development "works" for the candidates is not clear. It seems reasonable to assume that the child development

knowledge base serves to provide candidates with baselines or norm references by which to assess the appropriateness of children's behavior, responses to them, and activities to be provided for them. It is assumed also that a child development knowledge base frees candidates from having to apply only specifically rehearsed techniques and to be able to generate unrehearsed techniques from the understandings such knowledge provides. These assumptions are in need of testing.

Although all teacher educators and candidates seem to agree on the importance of field experience or practice teaching, the proportion of time allocated to it varies. The Child Development Associate (CDA) program specifies that fifty percent of training must be field-based. Conventional teacher education programs allocate considerably smaller proportions of time to actual practice in the field.

There appears to be general agreement on the usefulness of practica, but they are not without problems. In many communities field placements for practica where candidates can observe "good" practices are in short supply. Sometimes candidates complain of having to engage in teaching practices which their teacher educators reject or deplore. It is not clear what candidates learn from such experiences. Candidates' responses to "bad" field placements may be broadly typed as excessive idealism or excessive realism.[18] An example of the former type can be seen in one candidate's reaction to a "bad" classroom when she said "now I know exactly what I will never do when I'm a teacher." The candidate appeared to formulate a highly idealized version of her future occupational performance. The excessive realism refers to candidates' acceptance of what they have observed in the field as the upper and outer limits of what is possible

or what must be the nature of practice. One of the functions of practicum supervisor seems to be how to engender a balance of realism with adequate openness to the range of what is possible.

The truism that "practice makes perfect" is common sense. But common sense may overlook the point that only "good" practice makes perfect. It is often argued that candidates can and do learn from imperfect or even "bad" field placements. Just what is learned, and how it is learned, is not clear.[19] If candidates can learn what is desirable from "bad" placements, we need not be excessively anxious about the quality of placements. However, if such desired learning is possible in "bad" placements we ought to be observing greater success in the outcomes of practica than we typically do.

Since it would be impractical and uneconomical to "cover" all of the potentially useful knowledge and skill content, some choices have to be made. To some extent the choices seem to be made on the basis of tradition or habit. Since not all potentially valuable knowledge and skills can be "covered" during candidacy, teacher educators may be wise to try to cultivate in candidates the <u>disposition</u> to be continuous learners. One approach to strengthening of this disposition might be to indicate explicitly to candidates that their preservice experiences are intended to provide a beginning set of skills, a "survival kit," to serve them until they are sufficiently settled into their occupational roles. To some extent teacher educators seem to be caught between two competing pressures with respect to choice of content: to equip candidates with current competence, versus the most recent innovative techniques and skills. In the former case staffs fail to upgrade or improve current

practice. In the latter case they produce maladaptive graduates. How can this apparent paradox be resolved? Perhaps one approach might be to equip candidates to perform both conventionally and innovatively and give candidates insight into the nature of the competing pressures.

V. Time

The activities which constitute a teacher education program can vary in the total period of time in which they occur, i.e.,duration, and in the points in time at which they occur in that period. There may also be variations in the sequence or temporal order in which activities occur.

Wheeler[20] suggests that a lengthy stay in a socialization setting increases "the formation of a strong cohesive culture among recruits." In academic institutions the concept of "residency" implies that candidates acquire valuable attributes from the continuous and intensive contact with the agents of socialization in the setting. However, "time spent" as a discrete variable may not be sufficient for successful socialization.[21] The frequency, intensity and content of contacts may be co-predictors of the outcomes of the socialization process.

Some competency-based programs provide flexibility in the duration of candidacy. It is not yet known how much variation in total time actually occurs. Possibly the acquisition of specific demonstrable skills can be accelerated. However the role of time in the modification of teaching style and occupational identification may be more complex.

Obviously duration of candidacy affects the opportunities available to engage in given activities. When the duration of candidacy is finite some choices must be made. It would be of some interst to know on what bases such allocations are made as well as to what extent variations

in time allocations are related to the outcomes of teacher education.

At present there are strong pressures for practica to be offered earlier rather than later in the sequence of activities of a program. One strong argument in favor of early practica is that they provide candidates with opportunities to "try on" the teacher role and to make an informed career choice prior to the completion of a large portion of their required work. Another argument is that simulataneous as well as subsequent course work acquires greater relevance when such "trying on" of the teacher role as well as exercise of teaching techniques has occurred. No evidence to support these arguments has been found. On the other hand, some of the risks of placing candidates in "bad" field setting mentioned above may be greater earlier in the candidacy period than they are later.[22] Flexibility in timing and sequencing may be especially useful in designing programs whose candidates vary in age and life experiences.[23]

The concept of developmental stages of teacher growth has appeared in the literature.[24] The research suggests that concerns and developmental tasks vary as candidates progress through the activities program. It seems reasonable to hypothesize that <u>understandings</u> of teaching develop as experience accrues. It seems reasonable to predict that candidates' understandings of what teaching involves would be less finely and fully differentiated earlier in their careers than they become later on. Differentiation could be expected to increase in such things as conceptions of teaching situations, attributions of the causes of children's behavior and so forth. An early stage candidate is likely to propose a narrow range of responses to teaching situations; at later stages she is more likely to respond by asking for more information, or by saying "it depends."[25]

VI. Ethos

Ethos, like social climate, may be defined as "the feeling tone which expresses something about the feelings generated by the total set of relations between staff and recruits."[26] The ethos of a socialization setting may be related to candidates' acquisition of teaching style as well as occupational identity.

General impressions suggest that the ethos of early childhood teacher socialization settings emphasizes the acquisition of empathy, acceptance and love of children; intellectual (not academic) development of candidates is under-emphasized. It is not clear how an ethos is created or maintained. There may be a stereotype in our culture that those who are warm and caring are not very bright, and those who are bright are cold. The myth is strengthened by some candidates' reports that they had been counseled to enter early childhood education because they were not "smart" enough to do other college work. Such counseling seems to be related to candidates' tendencies to be preoccupied with being or becoming a person who "loves children" and a renunciation of deeper intellectual pursuits and development.

One factor affecting the ethos of a socialization setting is its size. As the numbers of candidates and staff increase, the ability of the staff to create and maintain a given ethos may decrease and regimentation or bureaucratization may increase. There may of course be an optimum size such that too small a program yields problems of over-intimacy, insufficient variety of participants at candidate and staff levels and a deficiencies in resources. On the other hand, general impressions suggest that the larger a teacher education setting is, the

more the atmosphere resembles (by analogy) a cafeteria rather than a dining room. In cases in which the number of candidates and staff members is beyond the optimun size, the feeling tone is likely to be flat or lacking in either social or intellectual vitality. Cafeterias seem to be low on both affective and aesthetic considerations, whereas dining rooms maximize these qualities. The risks of such "cafeteria" atmospheres can be shown in relief when they are contrasted with the small charismatic institutions which have a special and historic role in early childhood education.[27] Research comparing the relative endurance of the socialization processes of cafeteria versus dining-room types of settings would be helpful.

VII. Location and Setting

Of the many variables in this parameter, one of special interst is the extent to which the activities and experiences provided in a teacher education setting can be generalized to the actual workplace in which the ex-candidate becomes employed. In settings which have laboratory or demonstration schools candidates may be surrounded with talent, resources and congenial peers who cannot be duplicated at the future workplace. Is the gradient of generalization from preservice to inservice setting too steep for such candidates? What provisions for smooth transitions should be made? To what extent should the activities of a teacher education program be located away from a campus?

VIII. Regulations

Early childhood teacher education programs are affected by the regulations of a variety of agencies: state social welfare and education

departments, federal guidelines as well as on-site intramural procedures. The regulations may impinge on the contents and the way candidates' time is allocated. Informal reports of candidates threatening to sue their educational institutions when denied certification are also worth investigating. Such threats may serve to reduce emphasis on the less observable segments of the occupation (such as teaching style and occupational identity) and increase the emphasis on small units of the "demonstrable skills" of teaching, a tendency already observable.

Summary

It has been proposed that teacher education can be thought of as sets of activities intended to socialize candidates into the segments of the occupation of teaching. Furthermore, it has been suggested that these activities have at least eight interrelated parameters, and that variables in each of these parameters impinge upon the processes of socialization. Selected issues and questions in each parameter were discussed leaving many more yet to be explored.

While a sizeable body of data on the teaching of young children has been developed during the last decade, very little empirical work on teacher education, as an object of enquiry in and of itself, has been found. This lack of research may be due in part to the scatter of such programs and in part due to the absence of an agency or organization responsible or responsive to all of the scattered programs. Perhaps the next decade will witness the development of a professional organization which coordinates, gathers and stimulates some of the much needed research.

Notes

1. This description of training for nursery teachers is attributed to Jessie Stanton in E. Beyer, Teaching Young Children (New York: Pegasus, 1968), p. 78.

2. O. G. Brim, Jr., "Socialization Through the Life Cycle," in Socialization After Childhood: Two Essays, by O. G. Brim, Jr., and S. Wheeler (New York: Wiley, 1966). [Note to Yearbook Editor: The book consists of two essays, one written by Brim and the other by Wheeler.]

3. W. E. Moore, The Professions: Roles and Rules (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1970), p. 71.

4. E. Zigler, "A New Child Care Profession: The Child Development Associate," Young Children 27 (1971-72): 71-74.

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9. Ibid., pp. 142-43.

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